1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

pressed. Two contingents of Sikhs were sent unsuccessfully to take Kawinga's fortress in Chikala in 1894; Makanjira was defeated in 1894, Kawinga, Jalasi, Matipwiri, and Tambala in 1896.[1] They were later allowed to return, but they were not recognised as chiefs by the Administration.

The end of tribal wars and of slave-raids made large defensive settlements unnecessary, and the peace saw the splitting up of communities, which rendered the task of the Administration more difficult. The abolition of domestic slavery, by reducing the power of headmen, further contributed to the tendency to live in small scattered settlements. In 1912 the Nyasaland District Administration Ordinance was passed with the object of concentrating the villages into larger communities.

The first movement of Yao from Portuguese East Africa to Masasi took place about the end of the 1850's. According to one account they were originally expelled from the territory between Mataka's and Unangu by the Maseko Ngoni.[2] Then the Makua attacked them, breaking up the tribe still more, so that they migrated north to Masasi, the south-west of the Makonde plateau, and the banks of the lower Ruvuma. At Masasi they were again attacked by Ngoni, but defeated them, and then retired to the Makonde plateau, where they were again attacked by Ngoni. There is a tradition that at some time after 1850 the region was toured by an emissary of the Sultan of Zanzibar, 'Bakiri', who gave the whole country to Matola, a Yao chief, to rule from Newala. In the area between Masasi and the Ruvuma river the Yao are in a majority and politically supreme over their neighbours the Makonde, Makua, Ngindo, Matambwe, and Ndonde.[3] At Mtua, on the Makondi plateau, there is a settlement of Yao who were rescued from the Ngoni on the east shore of Lake Nyasa by Captain Engelhardt, and transferred there. These in outward appearance could hardly be distinguished from the Swahili of the coast.[4]

Demography

The Yao population of Nyasaland has increased steadily but its relation to the total population has not increased:

1911		1931		1945	
Yao population	*Percentage of total population*	*Yao population*	*Percentage of total population*	*Yao population*	*Percentage of total population*
185,363	13·4	246,713	13·6	281,177	13·74

Even in the predominantly Yao areas the population is not homogeneous, either tribally or linguistically. In the three areas in which there are a large number of Yao (Kawinga and Liwonde of Zomba district and Nyambi of Fort Johnston), they represent roughly 48·6, 75, and 73 per cent. of the total population, the next most important section being *Nguru* (Lomwe) immigrants from Portuguese East Africa.[5] Some Nguru call themselves Yao when questioned.

The density in these areas is respectively 65·5, 32, and 52 per square mile.[6] This

[1] Codrington, 1898, p. 320; Maugham, II, 1909, pp. 86, 120-6, 130-3; Scheer, 1893, p. 402.
[2] Livingstone, 1874, p. 70.
[3] Ibid. p. 48.
[4] 1945 Census.
[5] Weule, 1909, pp. 128-46.
[6] Mitchell and Census, 1926, 1931, and 1945.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

the dry season, in contrast to the busy wet season, there is much visiting and social activities are resumed. Dances and initiation ceremonies also are mostly held during the dry season. The only agricultural work done during this time is the clearing of the bush and the stacking of the brushwood ready for burning.

The temperatures are high. I have no records for the three stations in the area because recording has started only recently. It is hottest during the months just preceding the rains, i.e. September to December, and coldest during May to August. I have never heard of frosts in the area so it is unlikely that the temperature falls below freezing point. Hornby records the mean maximum temperature for Liwonde as 82·3° F. and the mean minimum temperature as 59·3° F. These are for Liwonde station which is in the Shire Valley. The temperature for the plains and the highlands is probably a few degrees less.

Vegetation

The natural vegetation in this area varies from thick rain forest along the permanent watercourses to open grassland in the marshy patches. In forestry reserves and other places where the vegetation has not been cut out, trees 20 to 30 feet high predominate with thin undergrowth. Along the Shire Valley much of the vegetation is untouched, but in the highlands and on the plain most of the unprotected forest has been cut out for garden lands. In the open spaces between trees the land is covered by elephant grass six to eight feet high.

Population

The density of the population in Nyasaland as a whole is high in comparison with that in the surrounding territories.[1] Within the Territory itself the densities in some districts are as high as anywhere in Africa.[2] The population as a whole is concentrated in the highland districts of Dedza and the Shire Highlands. The districts in which I worked are less densely populated than most of the districts in the Southern Province, but of average density

[1] Expressing densities as total population per square mile. Nyasaland, 55·3 (1945); Tanganyika, 17·0 (1946); Portuguese East Africa, 14·5 (1938); Southern Rhodesia, 11·5 (1946); Northern Rhodesia, 5·0 (1946).

[2] Chiradzulu district, 309·8; Cholo, 191·9; Zomba, 152·4. *Nyasaland Census, 1945*, Table 8.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

for the Territory as a whole. Within these districts[1] there is a population of 117,035. This estimate is based on an actual count and is probably more accurate than the usual questionable estimates of African population. The population as shown by the censuses over the last 35 years has been increasing rapidly. Between 1931 and 1945 in Kawinga, Liwonde and Nyambi areas it increased from 39,154 to 64,840 which represents an annual rate of increase of 3·5 per cent. This is due partly to immigration and partly to natural increase, but it is difficult to estimate which is the more important since immigration figures for Africans are unobtainable.[2] The density of the population in these areas, in 1945, is set out in Table I.

TABLE I

DENSITIES OF POPULATION IN TRIBAL AREAS: 1945

Chiefdom	Area in sq. miles	Total Population	Density per sq. mile
Jalasi	800	40,287	50·4
Nyambi	131	7335	56·0
Kawinga	682	44,789	65·7
Liwonde. . . .	396	12,176	30·7
Malemia	50	12,448	248·9
All areas . . .	2059	117,035	56·8

Sources: Areas from the Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province. Population from the detailed returns of the 1945 Census.

Of these areas Malemia has the highest density, 248·9 per square mile. This is on the fringe of the highlands which are the

[1] From the 1945 Census. These areas are Kawinga, Liwonde, Nyambi, Jalasi and Malemia. Other Machinga chiefdoms are Mponda (18,701), Kalembo (11,260), Nsamala (11,582), and Nsamanje (17,467), but in these I have spent only a few days and I do not include them in the main analysis. I also spent some time in Kanli area (12,245) in Fort Johnston district, and Ntaja area (17,193) in Blantyre district, but these are not Machinga Yao, and I only refer to them to illustrate points. My generalizations do not apply to them.

[2] There is some evidence that the natural rate of increase would double the population in 25 years. See Mitchell, J. C., 'An Estimate of Fertility in some Yao Hamlets of Liwonde District of Southern Nyasaland', *Africa*, xix, 3 (Oct. 1949), 293–308.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

economic centre of Southern Nyasaland and much land has been alienated to Whites there. Liwonde area, which has only 30·7 to the square mile, has large parts that are unpopulated because of the lack of surface water on the escarpment of the Rift Valley.

This population is by no means homogeneous, tribally or linguistically, but culturally the tribes are all very similar. The Yao, Nguru and Nyanja, who comprise most of the population, live in villages under village headmen; marry uxorilocally; have similar practices and beliefs in sorcery and disease. Table II

TABLE II

TRIBAL COMPOSITION OF THE CHIEFDOMS: 1945

Chiefdom	Total Population	Percentages of Tribes			
		Yao	Nguru	Nyanja	Ngoni
Jalasi	40,287	81·3	13·4	5·9	0·2
Nyambi	7335	73·2	26·8	0·0	0·0
Kawinga	44,789	48·7	33·7	14·4	1·2
Liwonde	13,176	73·2	19·6	5·2	0·1
Malemia	12,448	73·1	9·6	13·7	1·6

Source: Nyasaland Census, 1945. Abstracted from the detailed returns at the District Commissioner's Offices at Zomba and Fort Johnston.

shows the tribal make-up of the five areas with which I am concerned. Three-quarters of the population in all these areas are Yao. In Kawinga area, in which non-Yao tribes are most numerous, only one-half of the people are Yao, but included in this area are the two Mpotola subordinate chieftains Ngokwe and Chikweo, whose followers are predominantly Nguru (42·7 and 55·7 per cent).[1] If we exclude these two chiefdoms, the proportion of Yao in the rest of Kawinga area is 55·6 per cent. Nyambi and Kawinga areas, lying as they do against the Portuguese East African boundary, have the greater proportion of Nguru. Within Kawinga area the concentration of the Nguru along the boundary is also shown. Chiwalo chiefdom, which lies to the west of Kawinga area, has only 15 per cent Nguru,

[1] It seems here that the Mpotola may have been enumerated as Nguru and Nyanja.

6: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

This is partly confirmed by the fact that the increase in total population for parts of the Liwonde district, with which this survey was concerned, according to the official census, is about 2·69 per cent. per annum.[1] At this rate we could expect the population to double itself in about 26 years. A net reproduction-rate of 1 would mean that the population would double itself in one generation which we may take in this case to be about 25 years. Some of the increase shown in the census is no doubt due to immigration from Portuguese East Africa, but the high replacement rate suggested by this material tends to confirm the opinion of one Administrative official, who maintained that immigration has virtually ceased since 1931.

3. General Summary and Conclusion

From material collected in three groups of hamlets in Liwonde district of Southern Nyasaland it appears that the average gross reproduction-rate within the sample over the last ten years was about 2·9 while the net reproduction-rate was about 2·2.

There is no reason to suppose that the fertility of this sample is vastly different from that in any other part of the district, since the hamlets visited were casually selected; nevertheless, the sample is not a random one (in the statistical sense) and it is unsafe to generalize from it.

The Nyasaland Administration has only recently introduced machinery for the registration of births and deaths.[2] Until, therefore, these statistics are collected there seems to be no alternative but to rely on estimates as uncertain as those made in this paper.

[1] The population of Kawinga, Liwonde, and Nyambi sections of what was formerly known as Liwonde district or Upper Shire District of Nyasaland, increased from 59,134 in 1926 to 64,840 in 1945. Extracted from the crude census returns in the D.C.'s office in Zomba.

[2] Actually the forms for this registration do not tabulate all the categories of information necessary for the calculation of the gross and net reproduction rates. Such omissions are mainly of the ages of the mothers and ages at death, and they have been excluded, no doubt, because it is assumed that this information is unobtainable. It is to be hoped, however, that when the system has become established these categories will be introduced.

Résumé

MALÉDICTIONS DES NUER (see p. 288)

L'auteur cite de nombreux exemples des malédictions employées parmi les Nuer et indique l'importance comparative s'y attachant, suivant le degré de parenté entre la personne qui prononce la malédiction et celle à laquelle elle est destinée. La malédiction des morts est plus redoutée que celle des vivants, et l'on s'attend à ce qu'un homme qui emporte au tombeau le sentiment d'avoir subi une injustice fasse à son ennemi du mal affligeant plusieurs générations. Des malédictions prononcées s'affligeront que rarement le bétail puisque faire du mal au bétail nuit à toute la lignée et pas seulement à l'individu. Pour être efficaces, les malédictions n'ont pas besoin d'être exprimées en paroles — une imprécation silencieuse, ou même un sentiment de dépit, peuvent avoir la même force qu'une malédiction prononcée.

[P.141C]

62| through one or other incumbent of the position of village headman.[4] Succession to posts of author-
61| rity, including that of the chief, is matrilineal.
622 Ideally the succession should pass to the first-born son of a man's eldest sister, but this is not always followed, for the personal qualities of the successor are most important.

161 The total African population of the area studied is 65,000. There are one or two Indian traders and two Europeans permanently resident in the area. One European is a missionary in the north-east corner and the other an Agricultural officer in the north centre of the area. Part of
631 the area is administered by the District Commissioner, Zomba, and part by District Commissioner, Fort Johnston, and these officers tour the districts under their jurisdiction. Occasionally other White officials and labour recruiters appear, but in the main, Whites are not often seen in this
491 area. The one road traversing it is usually impassable for a part of the rainy season.